



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The personified Asha—By LAWRENCE H. MILLS, Professor
in the University of Oxford.¹

UNDER this title I shall endeavor to discuss Asha first as the Archangel, and then, in a brief appendix, Asha as incorporate in the Holy Community.

Asha as the Archangel.

While Asha as the universal law of sanctity and as the attribute of Ahura and his saints was, and remains, logically necessary before any human being, however rudimental, could have believed in the existence of such an angel called 'Asha' as readers of the Gâthas are in the habit of figuring to themselves, or even of such a sub-god as we have in the later Avesta (as one of six), it is yet fully evident as a matter of fact that the abstract idea became indeed personified in the due and natural course of the development of views, and this at, or previous to, the gâthic period. This is not only unquestionable in certain instances, but the occurrence of the word in this sense is very frequent.

In many of the sections Asha as the personal sub-god is so prominent as to give character to the whole body of the thought; and though to inexperienced readers '*ashu* as the law' seems to claim the first place in our attempts at exegesis, it might be a question with some whether this personification is not the most frequent use of the word, as it meets us at every turn.² But the principle with which we should begin the exegesis of the Asha-concept should not be lost sight of, and had better be stated distinctly once more, so that we may not feel too rigidly committed to our preferred views as to which shade of meaning may be conveyed by the self-same term in different but sometimes closely contiguous passages. That principle is this; that the thoughts of both the original composer and of his first hearers often flowed

¹ See the article on *Asha as the Law in the Gâthas*, in this JOURNAL, Vol. xx, First Half, pp. 31-53.

² Our present object is, however, not arithmetical; whether the abstract, or the person, be the more frequent concept is a secondary though not unimportant consideration.

quickly from one form of the great concept to another, or indeed to all the others consecutively, but with diminishing closeness and distinctness. The difference in the usage was a difference as to the immediate intention of the composer in the particular passage under review independently of other passages, and then it was a difference even as to the degree of emphasis or prominence in which one of the particular sub-concepts was made use of, with only a very rare exclusion of all the others, or at least with only a very rare exclusion of them which was total. And this remark may suffice us to prepare the way in the study of Asha as the person or personification.

We must study the occurrences of Asha as the Person, seeking to decide where his presence is the immediate idea intended to be conveyed by the composer, though with an undefined inclusion of all the other concepts, and at least with an implied allusion to them.

In considering the subject I shall not attempt any too fine-drawn distinction between the rhetorical (so to speak) or figurative personification of Asha and such a personification as immediately expresses a positive belief in his substantive existence as an actual individual entity. We are ourselves so familiar with the difficulty in distinguishing between (say) the places in the Semitic scripture where the "spirit of God" means the "characteristic of his nature" on the one hand and those where they express the idea of a separate divine personality on the other, that we can the more readily excuse a hesitation on the part of Zendists as to whether the composer of the Gâthâs also really intended in any given cases to propose a real or a rhetorical personification. Suffice it to say that both are to a high degree valuable, for while the rhetorical use of the term expressing the idea of personification shows more vigour and expansion of thought, the simple belief in the actual Archangel marks the presence of long-standing objective convictions which cannot fail to possess for us a not inconsiderable historical importance.

Our task in citing the passages from the Gâthas in which Asha appears as the personification of the law in the rhythm of the Divine Order is an easy one in certain occurrences and under certain circumstances, for a grammatical form here often solves our difficulties at once. This is the case where the thoughts in the context to our text force us to believe that the word '*asha*' is used as a vocative. And a few instances occur, here and there, where the connected expressions are of such a character as to

render the sub-deity not difficult of recognition even where the noun which reproduces the name stands in the sociative-instrumental case. But many other instances occur where Asha appears in this instrumental case, and yet it is much more difficult to determine whether the person or the thing was meant; so difficult, indeed, that our decision as to whether we have before us the instrumental of association, the instrumental of qualified action, or the vocative, must often depend upon our own personal preconceptions. I do not know but that it would be desirable to consider each of these categories separately, though for the purposes of synopsis it may be sufficient to sum them each up in the form of an index at the end.

But it is obviously the more profitable course for us to proceed at once to seize upon those occurrences of Asha where his personality comes out in a manner which excludes all possible doubt, for there are indeed a very few places where the qualifying words made use of to explain the force of the meaning of the term are of an altogether exceptional nature, so that while later taking up the occurrences of Asha as a person according to the order of the grammatical cases in which the word appears, we will endeavour at once to awaken our interest in the whole subject by looking at these few striking instances, and for the moment without any special regard to the particular grammatical form which is immediately involved (although that form happens as a matter of fact to be in this connection most frequently the instrumental of association).

The concept of personified Justice as it arises from the fulfilment of nature's promises becomes immediately apparent in Yasna 28, where it culminates in connection with a striking and almost anthropomorphical expression, in a strophe where the otherwise sometimes so difficult instrumental of association is definitely determined by this word (without which it would not be easily recognized with certainty). This altogether unquestionable expression of the idea of personal consciousness is rich in the vivid associations which it recalls, for it brings up before us a momentary picture of close sympathy between two or more devoutly believed-in divine beings, one of them supreme, and the other, or others, if not his equal, or equals, at least sometimes "his son" or "sons," as at Y. 44, 3 : *kasnā zāthvā patā ashahyā p(a)ouruyō* (= *-vyō*) . . .¹ and his "good companion," as at Y.

¹ This *a* is an ancient sign of increment or accent.

32, 2 (as to which see below). The expression which is so decisive in this matter occurs first at Y. 28, 8. It is *hazaosha*, "of one will," perhaps "of one delighted will"; *vahištem thvā vahištā yēm ashā vahištā hazaoshem ahurem yāsā*, which can only mean that "I pray Thee¹ O best One, for that best gift¹; Thee who (acc. for nom. as in *dātarem*, etc.) art Ahura (acc. for nom. according to the idiom), one-in-mind with the best Asha"; that is to say, "I ask it of Thee who art in harmonious coöperation with Asha" (as Thy companion especially guarding Thy holy law and giving it efficiency). So also in Y. 29, 7 we have this sympathy actually represented as animating a creative action; *tēm . . . A. māthrem tashaṭ ashā hazaoshō*, "Mazda Ahura created this manthra . . . one-in-will with Asha," while Y. 51, 20, that same remarkable and extremely valuable, if somewhat degenerated, delineation of sympathy which occurs in Yasht xiii. is anticipated; all the Amesha are alluded to as being "of-one-mind," *taṭ vē nē hazaoshāōñhō vīspāōñhō daidyāi savō*; while Asha is especially named as in harmonious coöperation with Vohumanah (of course it would be wholly impossible to render *asha* as the "congregation" here, or "in sympathy with Vohumanah as the individual worshipper," see *yazemnāōñhō*, 'being sacrificed to').

The passages recall the Vedic occurrences which are well in analogy; cp. Rigveda, iii. 62. 2: *sajóshāv indrávaruṇā marúdbhīr divá' prthivýá' ṣṛṇutam hávam me*. Sây. *sājoshau saṁgacchantau*, "O ye Indra and Varuṇa of one mind (*sajóshau*) with the Maruts, with Heaven and Earth, hear ye my call." So RV. i. 118. 11 of the Násatya, *sajósháh*: Sây. *sajoshasau samānaprītiyuktau . . .* (see, however, Ludwig).

See RV. v. 54. 6 of the *Maruts*: *sajoshasaṣ . . .*; Sây. *he sajoshaso yushmāsu parasparam samānaprītayo . . .* RV. ii, 31. 2 of the gods in general: *ádha smā na úd avatā sajoshaso ráthan devāso abhí vikshú vājayám*: Sây. *samānam prīyamānā . . .*

Also RV. x, 35. 11 of the *Āditya's*: *tá ādityā á' gatā sarvátātaye vrdhē no yajñám avatā sajoshasaḥ*: Sây.: *sajoshasaḥ, saṁgatāḥ . . .* "Come hither, ye *Āditya's*, for our full well-being one-in-mind; help on our sacrifice that we may thrive."

¹ *yāsā* governs two accusatives.

The term *hazaosha* leaves no room at all for question as to the personification of Asha, and one would think that its very marked meaning even excluded a possible form of rhetoric here ; we can hardly suggest that this personified Asha was wholly, or at all, figurative. An appeal seems to be made to a familiar popular belief in the existence of a separate sub-god or Archangel of the character described.

Other occurrences of Asha as expressing the concept of the person or personification I will consider in their proper place, while I pause again, before considering the less marked passages, to recall those which represent prayers or apostrophes addressed to Asha and in the vocative case, as these, next to the instances just cited, are those most calculated to impress our convictions as to the fact of the personification rhetorically or confessionally used. Strophes of the character indicated again meet us at the very outset of the Gâthas (as they now lie before us in the MSS., in an order of sequence determined largely by accident). We have at once in Y. 28, 3 : *Yē vāo ashā ufyānī manascā vohā ap(a)ourvīm* (= *-vyem*) . . . , "I (who) will praise you O Asha and Vohumanah, in a manner which has no first." . . . This is plainly a proof of the personification, and even a positive expression of a belief in the personal being of Asha as against a possible form of rhetoric ; for the composer is evidently yielding to one of those fervent impulses which so often led him to pour forth now one name of the chief sub-deities, now another, till the whole four had been named with Ahura, and in this thoroughly "living" section they are by no means dragged in in a mechanical manner as perhaps they are elsewhere, sometimes even in the Gâthas. So in the memorable Y. 28, 5, whether we read in Y. 28, 4 : *yavaṭ isāi tavācā avat khsāi aēshē ashahya* "So long as I can and have the power I will 'learn' to wish (*aēshe* = *ā-ishē*) for Asha," or "I will 'teach' men 'in the wish' for him"; see the affecting prayer which immediately follows : *ashā kaṭ thvā dar(e)sānī*, "O Asha when shall I see thee (or merely 'shall I indeed see thee,' *kaṭ* the sign of the interrogative ; cp. ved. *kād*)" is in itself a personification. And in this case we may really claim that it is a rhetorical personification, which is of course a much higher conception than the mere popular belief in Asha as an actual archangelic person. The composer is longing for the results for which he is striving 'as much as he can and may have the power' (see Y. 28, 4), "knowing the rewards of Ahura for deeds," and he exclaims,

"Ay, O Asha, shall I see thee (in the holiness of those deeds and in the rewards for which he had just prayed), O Asha, shall I see thee (thus embodied)? (cp. *astvaṭ* Y. 43, 16, and see the strophe elsewhere treated.)

So also in Y. 28, 7: *daidī ashā tām ashīm vanhēuš āyaptā manānhō*, "give, O Asha, the *ashi*," that is to say, the "blest reward," implies personification of the more pronounced type.

In Y. 29, 10 one might say that we were rather forced to regard Asha as a vocative of the personified concept as included within the plural 'you,' *yāzhēm aēibyō ahurā aogō dātā ashā khshathremcā*, for see the singular *thvām* applied to *Mazdā* in line c; but, as so often, the suspicion of an instrumental of the attribute (in its state of activity) predominates.¹

In Y. 33, 8 '*ashā*' in "*yasnem mazdā* (voc.) *khshmdvatō, at vā ashā staomyā vacāo*" is in the vocative of the personification, "Your praiser's Yasna, O Mazda, and your words for praise, O Asha."

Then we have the striking Y. 33, 11: *yē sevištō ahurō mazdāoçcā ār(a)maitišcā ashemcā . . . sraotā mōi . . .* 'Ye who are Ahura and Âramaiti and Asha furthering the Gaēthas, hear ye me' . . . (*ashem* is, indeed no vocative, but it presupposes a "Thou" in the vocative).

So in Y. 33, 12, if *ashā* be a vocative (?) . . . *ahurā âramaitī* (instr. (?) *tevišhīm dasvā . . . ashā hazō ēmavaṭ vohā manānhā fseratām*, "Give, O Asha, mighty strength and the *fseratu*." (But see Ahura above in the vocative which seems to displace *ashā* as the vocative below; and see also the closely accompanying instrumentals *vohu m.*; "Give, O Ahura, mighty strength and the f. with justice (*ashā*) and benevolence (*vohā m.*).")

In Y. 34, 6 we have either a sociative instrumental like the next words *vohā manānhā* or a vocative. But if the word were uttered as instrumental, it associates the name Asha so closely with the foregoing vocative *mazdā* as to be in this connection itself also practically a vocative, *yēzī athā stā haithīm* (= *yem*). *mazdā, ashā vohā manānhā*, "If ye (notice the plural) are really thus, O Mazda with Asha (i. e. O Mazda and O Asha) with Vohumanah."

Vocatives of a still more doubtful character are such as *ashā* in Y. 46, 18: *mazdā ashā khshmakem vārem khshnaoshemno*;

¹ See First Half, p. 41.

² See First Half, p. 48.

mazdā, *ashā*, may here be both vocatives, but the adverbial instrumental "by exact sanctity" would very reasonably show how the worshipper was to satisfy "Ahura's will."

In Y. 48, 8: *kā thvōi ashā ākáo ar(e)drēng isyā (isyāi)* "How shall I seek (how shall I pray for the acquisition of) thy open (princely) offerers, (as our open and devoted partisans) O Asha," is possible, but "using the ritual (*ashā*) in my prayers" is better.²

So in Y. 48, 9: *kadā vaēdā yezī cahyā khshayathā mazdā ashā*, we may indeed have, "Shall I (or 'when shall I') know if over aught Ye govern, O Mazda, and Asha?" but it is also obvious that "when shall I know if over aught Ye govern, O Mazda, in accordance with your law of justice" affords an admirable alternative.³

So in Y. 48, 11: *kadā mazdā ashā maṭ ār(a)maitiš . . .*, "When, O Mazda and Asha, is Âramaiti coming!" is a very natural rendering, but hardly more so than "When is she the alert-minded-one coming, introduced, invited (or 'invoked') through thy holy ritual chant?" (In Y. 48, 11 the instrumental of personal association also suggests itself; "when is Âramaiti coming together with Asha?" "together with the congregation" would be singularly out of place.)

So in Y. 49, 1: *yē duš-erethrīš cikhshnushā ashā mazdā . . .*, *ashā* and *mazdā* may be vocatives; but see the priority of *ashā*, and the aptness of the "ritual" as the vehicle of supplicating prayers offered for the sake of conciliating the hostile elements in the disturbed population.¹

So in Y. 49, 7: *sraotū ashā gūshahvā tū ahurā . . .*, we first think of the attribute here, "let him listen with holy fidelity";² but, "let him listen, O Asha" is possible, or even if the word be in the instrumental of the abstract it may afford us one of those occurrences of an instrumental almost in a nominative sense, as in Y. 29, 3: *ahmāi ashā . . . paiti-mravat*. In this latter case, "he-with-*asha*" might seem at first sight to be meant to express the personified subject, as also in Y. 48, 1, but the proximity of a verb meaning 'to speak' determines the sense to be that of the attribute.

So in Y. 50, 3: *atcēt ahmāi mazdā ashā aṇhaitī . . . yām naz-dīštām gaēthām dregvāo bakhshaitī*, we are not certain whether

¹ See First Half, p. 49.

² See First Half, p. 51.

we may have before us, "She, the Cow, shall be for him, O Mazda and Asha, . . . (who causes the border-farm to thrive—so, freely)," or, "She shall be for him in accordance with thy justice (*ashā*) . . . who shall advance the settlement nearest to what the hostile neighbour claims or shares (with us as the border line)."

So also in Y. 50, 5 : *ārōi zī khshamā mazdā ashā ahurā* may mean, "O Mazda and Asha, Ye Ahuras (cp. *mazdāosca ahurāonho* in Y. 30, 9), I have aroused myself (*ārōi*)," or, "I (am) in energetic readiness (*ārōi* loc., cp. *ustā* locative = 'in my longed-for wish'), O Mazda, through the chants of your holy ritual (*ashā*)."

So in Y. 50, 7 : *aṭ vē yaojā . . . mazdā ashā ugrēng vohū mananhā* may mean, "O ye Mazda and Asha, I would yoke-on your mighty steeds (or better "do Thou yoke-on your mighty ones") through the ritual chants (*ashā*); (as I invoke them with the Manthra intoned before the altar)."

So in Y. 50, 8 : *maṭ vāo padāiš . . . aṭ vāo ashā ar(e)drahyācā nemanhā*, we may have here, "Yea I approach you, O Asha," but we cannot lose sight of the following words, nor of the entire connection, "yea I approach you, O Mazda, with metrical hymns, with the ritual (*ashā*) and with the offering of a devoted coöperating chieftain," "yea I approach you with the wise judgment of a good mind(ed citizen)." Ahura may be the only vocative in the strophe.

Mazda and Asha in Y. 50, 9 look very much more like two vocatives, see the *vāo* : *tāiš vāo yasnāiš paiti-stavas ayeṇī mazdā ashā vanhēuš syaothndiš mananhō . . .*, "With these your Yasnas praising I approach you, O Mazda and Asha, and with the ceremonial and moral actions of a good citizen (i. e. of the good mind)"; yet even here the sense may be "with ritual exactness, with these Yasnas, and with the (ceremonial and moral) deeds inspired by the good mind."²

So in Y. 50, 11 : *aṭ vē staotā aojāi mazdā anhācā yavaṭ ashā tavācā isāicā*, we may have, "I will be called and I will indeed be your praiser, O Mazda and Asha"; but "I may be called your praiser, O Mazda, and so with truth (*ashā*) I will be it, so far as I can and may have the power" affords a very natural alternative meaning, *vāo* being regarded as the frequent plural of dignity. [Notice in passing that these last expressions, "so far as I can," do not refer to *receptive* action (*sic*) but to "praising," which

¹ See First Half, p. 51.

² See First Half, p. 52.

leads us to prefer the meaning in Y. 28, 4: *ashīscā syaothana-nām viduš mazdāo ahurahyā yavaṭ isāi tavadā avat khsāi aēshē ashahyā*, "I knowing the rewards (line b) will 'teach' (because I know them) as long as I can and have the power" to the rendering, "I will 'learn' as long as I can and have the power" (to wish for Asha)]. Returning to *ashā*, see (at Y. 50, 11) the situation of the word *mazdā* separated from *ashā* by *anīhacā* and *yavaṭ*, which makes "O Mazda and O Asha" still more improbable.

In Y. 51, 2: *tā vē mazdā p(a)ourvīm* (= -yam or -yem) *ahurā ashā yaecā taibyadā ār(a)maitē*, we have what seem to be two vocatives, "These are your (two) gifts, O Mazda and Asha, at first" (or "your two first gifts,"), and "what two things are thine, weal and deathlessness, O Aramaiti"; and yet "your gifts imparted with justice" is also possible.

In Y. 51, 3: *āt vē gēushā hēmyantē yōi vē syaothndiš sāreñtē ahurā ashā hizvā ukhdhāiš vanhēuš mananhō*, one would say at first sight that we had a (certain) vocative carrying with it, as usual, its guaranty of personification: "On account of your hearing (that you may hear—otherwise in my Gāthas, 'to hear you'—), they are gathering, Ō Ahura and Asha." But whenever 'hearing' as well as 'saying' is indicated (so also of 'teaching') we naturally suspect the accompanying *ashā* to be in the instrumental and to mean "with the ritual" or "with truth"; cp. First Half, p. 52, and see "with the tongue, and with the hymns of the good-minded (man)."

Such would seem to be a summary of the striking occurrences of Asha as possibly, though not always probably, the personified Law in the vocative case, or in an instrumental of association which brings it into very close connection with adjacent vocatives.

We can now proceed to cite and examine the occurrences at which Asha as the 'personification' appears in the other grammatical forms, in the nominatives, the remaining and less striking occurrences of the instrumental, the datives, etc.

The personal Asha in the nominative or accusative occurs at Y. 29, 11: *kudā ashem vohucā manō khshathremcā at mā mashā*. Both Ashem and Khashhathremcā look as if they were vocatives in view of the following *yuzhēm*, and I so rendered them (see Gāthas at the place), being followed in this view analogously by a friend who finds other vocatives in -am or -em. The *yuzhēm* . . . *paītē dānatā* seems, indeed, to include those words; but, after

all, the nominatives may stand, "Are (or 'when are') Asha, Vohumanah and Khshathra hastening (to us)?" (not "*venitis*," as in my Gâthas). Or the nominative may have been used *for* the vocative in a manner analogous to that use of an instrumental which suggests the nominative. As we might often explain "with-*ashâ*" as "(he) with-*ashâ*" and "(I) with-*ashâ*," so *ashem* may be meant to express "(Thou who art) Asha"; this in view of the following *yuzhēm* with the second plural imperative, "Do ye (O Mazda, Asha and Khshathra) assign to us your aid."

In Y. 31, 4: *yadâ ashem zevîm* (? = *zevyem* (or *-yam*)) *anhen*, "When Asha is propitious . . .," we have the nominative of the word as the personification; see the following "and the Ahuras of Mazda," with the substance of the prayer cited, "Give us that mighty *khshathra* (i. e. that strong military power) with which we may smite the foe."

In Y. 49, 3: *atcâ ahmâi varenâi mazdâ nidâtem ashem sâid-yâi*, *ashem* is in the nominative, but hardly so clearly personified, yet the Archangel might well be "stationed" to bless the cause.

In Y. 51, 4: *kuthrâ yasô hyên ashem, kâ* . . . ? "Where is Asha coming," we have the word evidently both as nominative and as personification, distinctly recalling Y. 29, 11.

In Y. 51, 20: *taṭ vē nē hazaoshāōnhō vīspāōnhō daidyâi savô ashem vohâ manānhâ*, Ashem, as hazaosha "with all his colleagues (in the one wish to give us succour)" is both personal and nominative (see above); while in Y. 51, 21 Ashem is in the nominative of the personal concept, "Through the law Asha is bountiful."

Let us now study a little more closely the "instrumental Asha approximately in the sense of a nominative," to which I have alluded above.

The response to the question of the *gēuš tashan* in Y. 29, 4: *ahmâi ashâ paiti-mravat hâtām hvô aojištô yahmâi zavēng jimâ keredushâ* might well express the personification of Asha himself, were he not the speaker; and even as it stands, a personification may be intended to be expressed as in a secondary application of the force of the word, "He answered with his essential characteristic of fidelity and truth," i. e. "as 'Asha' indeed"; that is to say, "Asha characteristically (truthfully) answered." In this explanation the force of a nominative of the word in the sense of the personified idea comes plainly out.

In this case the following *jimā*, if a first pers. singular conj.= "I will come," would represent Asha as a person, approaching Ahura; but he could only be regarded as drawing near in this manner when considered as representing the people in a certain sense; and yet as answering, he is at the same time the personal sub-god, a somewhat awkward and unusual combination of the ideas. The passage is, however, otherwise very difficult to render decisively; see *Gāthas* at pp. 414–418 inclusive; perhaps the line *c* refers to the composer of the piece; this would obviate some difficulty.

It is indeed possible that the composer touched the idea of the "saints" at Y. 48, 1: *yezī adāiš (ādāiš) ashā drujem vēññhaitī* (sic)? when he chanted, "If through his administrative procedure (*ādāiš*) aided by the holy church (*ashā*—see below on 'Asha as the congregation') he (our leader) smites the Lie-demon's (hosts)"; yet we must not overlook the fact that in the 'men' of line *c* we probably have the 'saints,' which would render *ashā* as expressing the 'congregation' the more improbable at that place in line *a*, so that the meaning, "If right thoroughly (*rtēna*, i. e. by means of his thoroughly sound and honest zeal), or "If with the help of Asha the Archangel," may be more suitable there; the occurrence, however, looks very like that in Y. 29, 3, where Asha himself is said to "answer *ashā* 'with his truthfulness'" (First Half, *ad loc.*); and in any case we have the adverbial instrumental carrying with it the pronoun understood in the nominative case. Compare the quasi-nominative use of the locative adverbial *uštā* in Y. 30, 11, where this oblique case seems to be the pronounced subject of *añhaitī* (one would feel almost tempted to term it a nom. pl. neut. as often in agreement with the singular verb, compare the Greek usage). And so in Y. 43, 1 *uštā* agrees with a verbal form understood in the singular, *uštā ahmāi yahmāi uštā kahmāicē*, etc. The use of the instrumental as if with a nominative understood might be termed "the instrumental with the inherent subject," if it were sufficiently frequent; for it is certainly highly characteristic.

To dwell now for a moment on the personal *ashā* in the accusative, notice *ashem* as both personal and accusative at Y. 28, 9 (see this place also treated elsewhere). There we have: *noit . . . ashem . . . zaranaēmā*, "May we not anger Asha (by inapt prayers). In Y. 29, 2 we have: *adā tashā gēuš peresať ashem*. The Tashā gēuš asks Asha evidently as a person. (But

in Y. 31, 22: *vohā hvō khshathrá ashem vacānhā shyaoth(a)nácā haptī*, the accusative *ashem* is rather the law, than the law personified.) As regards Y. 43, 10: *at tú mōi dāiš ashem hyat mā zaozomī* . . . , as I said in the former article, Part I,¹ "Show (or 'send'?) me thine *Asha*," sounds rather puerile when referred *directly* to the Archangel with the meaning of the word far in the background; but the form of the sentence certainly suggests the *rhetorical* personification, in view of the words "that I may invoke him." In Y. 43, 12: *ashem jasō frākhshnenē*, one does not feel so sure that "may'st thou come for knowledge to *Asha*" presents more than a rhetorically formed personification; still the expression 'coming to' certainly points to the *image*, at least, of a person; "Come to the Law for light" would be vigorous, but not vigorous as a rhetorical personification.

In Y. 44, 6: *ashem syaothndiš debāzaitī dr(a)maitiš*, *ashem* is hardly a personification, even in that wide or remote inclusiveness of all such kindred ideas which is so characteristic of *Asha*, as of the other five concepts.² But in Y. 51, 10: *maibyō zbayā ashem* gives a clear personification, "to me I call *Asha*," the grammatical form being that of the accusative case.

For *Asha* as personal with the word in the instrumental case aside from the passages already cited, compare Y. 30, 1: *humāz-drā ashā yaēcā yā raocēbīš dar(e)satā vrāzā* seems an instance of *ashā* in the instrumental, and the personality is rendered probable by the evident personification of *Vohumanah* in the line immediately preceding; "both benignant counsels I will utter as with *Asha*," but of course "as with truth" strikes us at once as preferable, and perhaps indeed also on reflection.

The sociative under the form of the instrumental seems expressed in Y. 30, 7: *ahmāicā khshathrá jasat manānhā vohā ashācā*, "To us" (or "upon this") He came (who is endowed or accompanied with *Khshathra*, *Vohumanah* and *Asha*).

In Y. 32, 2: *paitī-mraot ashā hušhakhā hvēnvātā* (already referred to in passing), *Asha*, *hušhakhā hvēnvātā*, "with his glorious good friend *Asha*" (possibly "with his light-bearing good friend *Asha*") gives us the personification plainly enough, while the sociative case is rendered unmistakable by the *hušhakhā* (root *hae*); and yet note once more the exceedingly striking fact that this *ashā* which is thus most palpably personified as the 'good

¹ First Half, p. 44.

² See First Half, p. 46.

friend' and yet qualifies a word meaning 'to say' and 'to answer.' Could there be a more obvious proof of consciousness on the part of the composer; he seems to personify almost on purpose in a connection where the abstract idea 'with truth' is especially called for.

In Y. 34, 2, we have the same root *hac* (Ind. *sac*) present in immediate connection with Asha as a person whose soul "goes in company with Asha" (*ashā hacaitē*, sociative instrumental of the personal concept). In Y. 34, 6, if *ashā* be not in the vocative (see above), we have the sociative of the personal concept in *yēzī athā stā haithīm* (= *-yem mazdā ashā vohā manānhā*, "If thus ye are really, O Mazda with Asha and Vohumanah.") In Y. 34, 11: *ashā maṭ ār(a)maitiš vakhšt . . . haurvāoscā hvar(e)thāi ā ameretātāoscā* may mean, "Āramaiti (our devoted zeal, personified) increases both health and long deathless life for our maintenance together with Asha" (so possibly), Asha being taken as the personified concept, and the word being in the sociative instrumental; but "by means of the holy regulations of religion" might be the more exact rendering.

In Y. 44, 9: *hademōi ashā vohucā syās manānhā* evidently means, "dwelling in the same abode with Asha and Vohumanah," both words being in the sociative instrumental of the personified concept.

In Y. 44, 10 we have still another uncertainty: *yā (dāēnā) mōi gaēthāo ashā frādōit hacēmnā* seems to reproduce once more the especial word which expresses association, *hac* (= Ind. *sac*), "Which holy faith causes the settlements to prosper in company with Asha," the word being in the sociative instrumental of the rhetorically personified concept, which next to that of the abstract idea stands highest as a mental product; yet it is impossible to deny the aptness of the rendering, "through the regulations of the Law" (see elsewhere).

At Y. 46, 13, in *tēm vē Ashā mēhmaidī huš-hakhāim* (= *-khayam*) we may have a sociative as to the grammatical form notwithstanding *vē*, "Him we think your friend well-associated with Asha" (sic); the root *hac* seems again to carry with it a sociative instrumental form rather than a vocative in the adjacent word; but *ashā* seems more forcible when regarded as adverbially qualifying the friendly relation (see First Half, p. 49).

In Y. 46, 16 we have *yathrā ashā hacaitē ār(a)maitiš*, which can only mean (again), "Where A. is associated with Asha," the

latter word being in the instrumental sociative of the personal idea. As to Y. 48, 9: *kadā vaēdā yezi cahyā khshayathā mazdā ashā*, see above, p. 283, on the vocative *ashā*. If *mazdā ashā* be not both vocatives, the sociative instrumental *ashā* is possible, "If, O Mazda, ye rule together with Asha"; but the attribute would be decidedly our first thought here, "If ye rule, O Mazda, with the eternal law of justice . . .".¹

In Y. 48, 11: *kadā mazdā ashā maṭ āra(maiti)š jimaṭ*, means, "When, O Mazda, does Âramaiti come in company with Asha," the latter word being fully determined in the sociative instrumental by *maṭ*. (In Y. 50, 4 *aṭ vāo yazāi . . . hadā ashā* may mean, "Together with Asha I will ever sacrifice," Asha in the sociative instrumental of the person; but it is far better taken as instrumental of the ritual, "I will ever worship you with the ritual," and with the best intention; see elsewhere.)

On Y. 51, 2: *tāt vē mazdā p(a)ourvīm* (= *-yam* or *-yem*; see above) *ahurā ashā* are either, "O Ahura, O Asha," or "O Ahura with Asha (sociative instrumental of the personal concept). So also possibly as to Y. 51, 3: *ā vē gēušā hēmyaṇtē yōi vē shyaoth(a)-nāiš sāreṇtē ahurā ashā hizvā ukhdhāiš v. m.* (see above), we may have, "O Ahura, O Asha"; but *ashā* as instrumental, "with the ritual," would harmonize well with the following *ukhdhāiš vanhēuš manānhō* "with the hymns of the good-minded (saint)."

In Y. 51, 11: *kē vā ashā āfraštā* means, "And who has conferred with Asha by question," the word *ashā* being in the sociative instrumental of conference (and personal).

Looking over *ashā* as in the dative we soon come upon the reading *hvō nē mazdāi vaštī ashāicā car(e)kerethrā* at Y. 29, 8. Here *ashāi* (so reading) is dative possessive of the personified law, "He wishes to proclaim for us (for Mazda and for Asha) our completed deeds or counsels."

In Y. 30, 8: *yōi ashāi daden zastayō drujem*, "Who deliver the demon of the heretical falsehood (the Druj) into the two hands to Asha," is a graphic instance of personification, or rather of expressed belief in a spiritual person, *ashāi* being in the dative (not so certainly for genitive, but rather in the dative of goal, which certainly exists). So in Y. 32, 9: *ashāicā yūshmai-byā gerezē*, "To you and to Asha I cry," also in Y. 33, 14: . . . *dadāiti paurvatātem . . . syaothnahyā ashāi*, "He gives

¹ See First Half, p. 51.

his priority (or precedence) in action (or in the ceremony—? as an offering) to Asha (dative of the word expressing the concept of the person); and in Y. 34, 3: *aṭ tōi myazdem . . . ashāicā dāmā*, “Yea to thee and to Asha we present the myazda-offering.”

In Y. 44, 14: *kathā ashāi drujem dyām zastayō* refers to Y. 30, 8 (for which see above); *ashāi* is again in the dative, the word expressing the personal concept, “Shall I (or ‘How shall I’) deliver the Druj(k) to Asha into his two hands?” In Y. 51, 15: *ashāicā savāiš civīshī* taken by itself can only mean, “And to Asha, on account of advantages (i. e. to secure blessings in return for the offering), these things were presented”; and certainly so, if we regard the line as addressed to Ahura. [To whom else does *vē* = “to you” or “for you” refer? See *tā vē mazdā*, “these your . . . O Mazda,” at Y. 51, 2: *ā vē geušā . . . , Ahurā* “to you for the sake of your hearing” (that you may hear) . . . Y. 51, 3, *taṭ vē nē hazaoshdōnhō* in Y. 51, 20; notice also as if in antithesis, *nē* = “ours” or “for us.” See further by way of antithesis, *vahistem taṭ nē nūcēt var(e)shānē* in Y. 51, 1. So also *athā nē sazdyāi uštā*, “Thus is *uštā* to be proclaimed to us” (with the metric feet—in 16), and *mōi* = “to me” in Y. 51, 2; *aṭ yē mā . . .* “And who me” . . . Y. 51, 10; *berekhdhām mōi . . .* “A blest (person F. H. has shown (presented to) me,” Y. 51, 17; *taṭ mōi dāidī Ahurā*, in Y. 51, 18, “That give me Ahura”; *yehyā mōi ashāt hacā*, in Y. 51, 22, “Whose (best gift) is for me.” If *vē* refers to Ahura so frequently in other portions of this same chapter, it probably refers to him here.]

Taking a glance at Asha as genitive while used of the personal concept, we come at once upon *yavaṭ isāi tavācā avat khsāi aēshē ashahyā* in Y. 28, 4. Here *ashahyā* may possibly be rhetorically personified (as it is in the remarkable line next following in Y. 28, 5, “In the desire for Asha, as much as I can and have power so much will I announce the *ashī’s* (see line *b*) rewards of Mazda Ahura, since I know them (*vīduš*)”; this possibly indicates personification, I should say, but only possibly and that rhetorically; the real force of the words is seen through this personification if it were intended; he wishes for holiness because he knows (*vīduš*) the rewards, and so he will proclaim or teach them to others because he knows them himself. I recall what is also noticed elsewhere, that “to learn (to wish for Asha)” is not so probable as “to proclaim or teach the desire for Asha; this in view of the fact that he already knew (*vīduš*) the essential

truth of the matter. In Y. 30, 10, a *hushitois* v. m. *mazdāi ashahyā* means, "In the good abode of v. m., and *ashā*," the latter word being in the genitive and expressing the personal concept.

In Y. 31, 1: *ashahyā gaētháo vīmereñcaitē* means, "Are destroying the settlements of Asha," the latter word being in the genitive, and the personification being rhetorical; "The farms of the holy community" might pass as a rendering were it not that the *gaētha's* were perhaps as much the housed-community itself as the farms. In Y. 31, 6 the *māthrem yim haurvatātō ashahyā ameretātascā* mean the "holy text of (i. e. sacred to) H., to Asha, and to Ameretātāt," the word being in the genitive and expressing the personal concept (all the personifications except Aramaiti are here grouped). [We should hesitate before deciding that *haithīm* (= *-yam* or *'-yem'*) *ashahyā dāmīm* in Y. 31, 8 means "the ordainer of Asha," the latter word expressing the personal(?) concept; yet see in the preceding line the "father of the good mind seized with the eye"; if, as is more probable, the regulator of the congregation (*ashā*) is meant, then the "God among the actions of the people" is meant in the following words.]

In Y. 32, 13: *yē īš pāt dar(e)sāt ashahyā*, "Who holds them from the sight of Asha" is certainly a personification in view of the "abode of the worst mind" in line *a*; but the rhetorical personification cannot conceal the interior meaning, cp. Y. 28, 5 treated elsewhere, "O Asha shall I see thee?" but I hardly think that "holding them from the sight of the congregation" was distinctly meant.

In Y. 44, 3: *kasnā . . . patā ashahyā*, "who is the father of Asha," personifies the concept of natural law (the grammatical form being that of the genitive).

In Y. 44, 13: *nōit ashahyā ādivyeñtī hacēmnā*, "The associates of Asha do not enlighten them," personifies the concept, especially in view of the "questions asked of Vohumanah" in the next line.

In Y. 47, 2: *patā ashahyā*, "father of Asha," personifies the concept. In Y. 53, 3: *vanhēuš paityāstēm manānhō ashahyā mazdāoscā*, "The devoted servant of the Good Mind, of Asha and of Mazda," personifies the two first concepts as well as the last.

To take a view of our word as in the ablative.

In Y. 28, 2, *āyaptā ashāt hacā*, "The prizes acquired in accordance with (or from) *ashā*," would not come under the head even

of a rhetorical personification, were it not for the foregoing line *a*, which casts a faint dramatic light upon line *c*; the *váo* = *vos* might include *ashá* as 'approached' and 'from him the prizes were to be obtained.' If we could render distinctly "from Asha" personification becomes somewhat more decided, but on the whole, the concept of the Law is obviously the more immediate idea to be derived from the passage.

So in Y. 32, 4, *nasyaṇtō ashāatcā*, "perishing, or going astray, from *ashá* as from the holy law" is only dimly personified, if at all; see "from the understanding (or wisdom) of Ahura Mazda"; notice 'understanding' which is here in equipoise with *ashá* (as one would think).

But in Y. 32, 12: *yāiš grēhmā ashāt var(a)tā*, "By whom Grēhma has been chosen above Asha," we have the concept of the personification in a very strong relief; yet it is by no means the dull personification of the later Avesta; the Gāthic personification is never such, the thoughts of the 'Law' throng within the concept of the personality.

In Y. 49, 2: *ashāt ráreshō*, "receiving (or "giving") great harm from Asha," personifies the latter.

For *ashá* as locative see Y. 32, 6: *thvahnī vē, mazdā, khshathrōi ashaēcā sēnghō vīdām*; but we can see no particular personification in the place; the rhetorical form is the incorporation; "In thy kingdom indeed (*vē* for *vai*?), O Mazda, and in the holy State, the congregation (*ashāēcā*), I will plant the doctrines (see below on "Asha as the community").

It will be seen that an invocation or appeal directed to Asha as a separately personified entity is not often absolutely certain when closely linked with Mazda; the original inherent force of the word as expressing the regularity of the law was very significant to an Iranian and still vital at the time of the Gāthas, so that it was clearly impossible to exclude it in such a connection from being more or less distinctly or feebly understood in every occurrence of the word as mentioned within the limits of these original hymns.

The Holy Order in the law or ritual as a venerated force was in fact the one power which kept everything together in the heroic little State. It seems to have been not only the guide but the very body of the state-idea, or at the least its actuating energy. The philosophically so inferior idea of mere personality

can hardly hold its own to such a degree as to suppress the actual meaning of the name, and yet this idea of personification certainly exists beyond all doubt as the thought at times intended by the composer to be conveyed in the expressions of which he made use, and this foreshadowed the later degenerated days when the concept of the Archangel or Sub-deity at last entirely or almost entirely obscured the earlier sublime idea of the "pervading rhythm of regularity."

The concept of a personal subject, although almost moved upon its pedestal by the influence of the very thoughts which it personifies, is there, and to some expositors it may suggest itself as being very frequently indeed the first and more immediate idea intended by the composer in the words of which he makes use. One important peculiarity is to be noted throughout; it is this: strong and distinct as the use of the word may be at times to designate the personal Archangel, yet like the Indian *ṛta* to which it corresponds, it stands always in the neuter. That is to say, we are not only warranted but constrained to regard it as in that form, for we have clear instances of the nominative as *Ashem*. This adds another not unimportant item to the many which help to build up the mental structure of gâthic doctrine; and affords us one more datum towards our recognition of its intellectual solidity and depth.

The Archangel's name never could have been uttered by an enlightened member of the gâthic State without the possibility that the internal abstract sense of it may have rested upon his mind. And it was as impossible for him as for us to forget that the reason why Asha was great and adorable was that he was the representative of the interior and universal Law.

APPENDIX.

Asha as the Congregation.

Incorporation in a collection of units is not indeed personification, but when the idea conveyed in such a term as *ashâ* becomes figuratively incarnate (*astvat*) in a unified plurality as in a community, the concepts approach closely that more vague rhetorical hypostatization which so often appears in our common historical diction.

We speak for instance of the Democracy, of the Confederacy, of the Republic, or of the Church, our verbal forms resting in the

singular number. It seems to me therefore to be far from alien to a treatise on Asha as the person to add some discussion on Asha as the unified mass of the people pervaded by the precepts and guaranties of the Law.

That the word *ashem* which with its adjective meant the embodied law at Y. 43, 16, carries with it at times the same full meaning of incorporation in the Gáthas even without any more closely defining terms is acknowledged, I believe, by all who have written immediately or indirectly under the influence of Roth. There is, however, often not so very much in this latent allusion to the holy people. The truth is that, as I have already remarked, the several divisions of thought which exist in the concept are closely associated together as much so as the harmonising chords in music, or the nerves which conduct the forces of sensation and motion from the centre of the nervous system to the extremities of the body. But the presence of this idea of the Church in these connecting links is often very faint.

The idea of the Congregation, for instance, might even be regarded as present in a remotely implied suggestion in such a place as Y. 28, 1 : *ahyá yásá ashá víspēng syaothmá*, "I pray for all deeds (done) with Asha"; but its presence here would be excessively pallid, and far in the background.

Wherever individual human action is presupposed in connection with Asha as The Law, there of course that action might be regarded as pertaining (if only in a very limited degree) to the community of which the obedient individual is a member. And this may indeed come faintly into view as an after-thought together with other vaguely related ideas at frequent intervals ; but such diluted representations of the concept of the Congregation we do not desire to study at this moment, if at all. The composer, in Y. 28, 1, as I may repeat without hesitation (and speaking practically), did not intend to be understood as praying that all actions might be done in harmony with the Congregation, or—to borrow our word again from Christianity—in common with the Church (though of course as a matter of exact inference, correct actions would necessarily be fulfilled in coöperation with the ideal Church), nor were the "attained prizes," the *áyaptá* in Y. 28, 2, intended to be mentioned as earned in community with the same "holy body" (*ashát hacá*) ; nor had the composer ever heard of such a thing as praise and worship directed toward the Congregation (*ashá*) as its object (see Y. 28, 3) ; nor is it at all prob-

able that he intended to say, in Y. 28, 4, "So long as I have the power I will either learn (or teach) to wish for the Congregation (*ashā*, so preferring), or in the wish for it."

And it seems equally absurd to suppose him to exclaim in Y. 28, 5, "O congregation, when shall I (shall I ever) see thee," unless it was very obvious from the context that he was himself personally at the moment of composing the strophe absent in a distant and solitary exile. So the *ashāddo* which Ahura was besought to send (supposing that we have a compositum here) were not intended to be represented as the immediate gifts of the congregation (in Y. 28, 6); nor was the congregation apostrophised in Y. 28, 7, and asked to bestow on *ashi*, that is to say a "sacred reward," the congregation being at the time the very last source of recompense to which the composer at that moment desired to apply; so, as already shown (see above on Asha as the Person), *ashā vahishta* was not all the Congregation in Y. 28, 8; nor was the Community the audience which the priestly prophet feared to "disturb with his prayers" in Y. 28, 9; nor does Ahura derive knowledge (as in Y. 28, 10) from enlightenment produced by his People; but in the culminating and final strophe of this same chapter, so full of other ideas, in Y. 28, 11 we may fairly claim that *ashā* represents the embodiment of the idea of the Law in its various shades of meaning, and that this embodiment could only be its incarnation (so to speak) in the holy Community, for it is this which the princely priest, the Saoshyañt, is "set to protect." (Could we have a more fitting illustration of a sudden change in the use and application of the word than this?)

No human being could be said to be "set for the protection" of the attribute of God; nor would it be at all critical to accept too readily such a view as the "protection of the law" in the modern sense of the words; that is to say, standing by the constitution. It is better to render, "I who am set to protect Asha," in the same sense in which Asha was said to be *astvat* or "clothed with body" at Y. 43, 16; that is to say, it is far simpler to say, "I who am set to guard over the Church."

Here, then, in the entire section Y. 28, there is but one occurrence of *ashā* in the sense of the Congregation, but that one is unmistakable. The People however must have been understood only in the sense of the Holy People, the Church. That *ashā* could have been meant to represent the People in such a compact sense (for instance) as that anything but 'good' could have been

said of it, *ashā*, and so intended by the composer, is quite impossible here. With all the approximately sublime allusions in the immediate context, *ashā* could only represent the holy race in the light of a redoubled sanctity, and quite as well defined, as for example, the "holiness of Israel" (see First Half, p. 31).

It could mean nothing else but the "chosen nation," as the living body vivified by the great attribute and guided by its formulated law. Nor are we at liberty to take *ashā* as a term used in an indifferent tone in the Gāthas any more than in an adverse sense, that is to say, not as the People, as if in a wholly secular allusion, though such an allusion may be without any element of indignity. Such a supposition could only be harboured by one who lost sight of the entire motion of events in the juncture, unintentionally, or (as one might say) unconsciously, depicted, in these often fierce and vivid hymns. It is rarely enough, as we have just seen, that *ashā* means the Congregation, even in a good sense; but in the mild vortex of recurring expressions all uttered with more or less passionate vocatives, or with appeals in the first person and to the second person, any such commonplace use of the word is simply out of the question. If *ashā* were the Church, it was the Church as in a state of crisis which was chronic at the time, for its existence in the gāthic scene was often evidently at stake. See even at Y. 28, 6, where in this more than usually meditative section we read of the "overcoming the torments of the tormentor," *yā daibishvatō dvaēshāo taurvayāmdā*, that is to say, the hostile measures of the enemy. And the more spiritual view of *ashā* for which we make our claim was kept alive by the necessary self-sacrifices of an unrestful age.

Moreover let us not forget that such piety as they possessed grew up out of the services of the ritual and before the altars. The only real object lesson which the people had as to the existence of *ashā* as the special law was first the personality of contemporary priesthood, their customs and their state, and secondly, the impressions received from the gathering of the masses of the people on the great feast days or on the days of prayerful humiliation, when they "came from near and from afar." Here were human beings on whom the ceremonies had actually produced their effect, who had caught the spirit of worship, and had long depended on a system of more or less definitively digested statutes as the basis of their religious, social, and commercial intercourse.

Asha as the Divine Attribute might not have been, and very probably would not have been, dreamt-of by the then present generation, if it had not been for the hereditary Church in which the idea of sanctity had been fostered in ceremonies for centuries; and this enhances the importance of the concept *ashā* as the Holy Community.

As I have necessarily dwelt at some length on this most pregnant theme, I will now curtail the detailed discussions which are still so greatly needed for each of the passages which bear upon this particular subject, and in place of fuller exegesis indicate the passages for the most part merely by reference, with a few added words. They were each, as is known, discussed by me some twelve years ago in the XXXIst vol. of the *Sacred Books of the East* and later extensively treated with the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts in my *Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas*, in 1892-94. In this last book all the various translations of the terms (worth reporting) are afforded by me in the notes to the verbatim renderings, and in the Commentary (these sections in all) comprising some 659 pages.¹

The passages in which I recognize Asha as expressing the concept of the People who were subject to the Law are the following :

In Y. 31, 8 : *aṭ thvā mēñhī p(a)ourvīm* (= *-vyam* or *-vyem*). . . *haithīm* (= *-yem*) *ashahyā dāmīm* . . . , the "true establisher of Asha" must refer to the holy state or to the elaborated law objectively instituted and kept in operation by the functionaries of state and church. Y. 32, 4, "straying away from Asha" suggests the Flock from which the sinner strays as well as the Shepherd who would be the Guardian Angel ; and one idea has about as much a claim as the other to priority, but see elsewhere.

In Y. 32, 6, already alluded to, the locative case (*ashaēcā* following *khshathrōi*) as the grammatical form, of itself suggests *ashā* as the Community within which the doctrinal system was

¹ As to the third volume, the Vth part of this (so extended) work, "A Dictionary of the Gāthic language of the Zend Avesta," I would say that I have met with an unfortunate delay from the illness of my typesetter in Germany, a person who worked with distinguished skill and unusual economy. A good part of the first section of this completing volume (that touching the words beginning with vowels, is, however, printed, or in type, and I hope to issue it before October, unless indeed the compositor referred to has a large amount of work accumulated during his enforced inaction.

established. But in Y. 32, 9 (as to which see above) the composer did not “cry to the congregation,” as there could be no question of appeal to them at the time in the matter of any grievance; so in Y. 33, 3: *aṭ hvō ashahyā aīhaṭ vanhēuš gā vāstrē manānhō*, I do not think that the “pastures of the People” looks more original than those of Asha as the Archangel Guardian of the sanctified territory.

On Y. 34, 5 I pause for a moment's discussion. *kaṭ vē khshathrem ?kā īštiš syaothnāiš, mazdā, yathā vāo ahmī ashā vohā manānhā*, “What is your royal power; what your possession that I may . . . be your own (so I prefer) in my actions with *asha* and *vohumanah*.” These last two expressions may well mean, in harmony with the holy Community and with the individual good-minded saint, unless indeed this latter might seem too closely definitive or hair-splitting, so to say. *Vohumanah*, however, most frequently expresses the individual believer, seldom if ever the Community, which is reserved for *ashā*, but it is obvious that “with holy exactness” *ashā*, and “with a good intention,” at once arises in the mind of a reader familiar with the original meaning of the words. Let it be noted in passing here that the word *syaothnāiš*, “through actions,” cannot at all be limited at this place (or in fact elsewhere) to the idea of ceremonies, if indeed it can be applied to them; while the “help of the poor” shows the robust moral vigour intended to reside in the expressions throughout (recall also the ideas in the Vedic equivalent *cyautna*); they hardly group about the sacrifice. It is, however, necessary to add that the poor here referred to might possibly include the entire people in their then temporarily depressed condition (cp. Y. 46, 2), in which case this word would be explanatory or rather used in apposition; yet the force of the expression is not lost; even if it were applied to the Community it is still striking.

Y. 34, 10 also needs a few additional lines.

With one of those truly astonishing transitions to which I have more than once alluded in introducing this subject, and which could only have been possible in view of private explanations,¹ the composer suddenly passes from the higher concepts in Y. 34, 10, to the quite startling statement that *dramaiti*—and we cannot take the word, here at least, as a masculine qualifying Ahura—“is

¹ See First Half, pp. 32 ff.

the *dāmīm* . . . *haithyām ashahyā*," an epithet applied especially to Ahura in Y. 31, 7. And this is said of an Amesha who in the order of mention, at least, is inferior to Asha as a sub-god.

Here, then, we seem quite obliged to fall back upon a modification of exegesis rendering "confirmer" rather than "establisher" or "creator" of *ashā*, of course as the People.

At Y. 43, 1, *ashā* as "supported" (*ashem deryāi*) could only be the Holy Community, or the Law, as especially in charge of the political-religious (i. e. ecclesiastical) functionaries.

So perhaps at Y. 46, 3 : *anhēuš darethrāi frō ashahyā reñtē*, to render for the "support of the life of the people" (*ashā*) is better than "for the support of the people (*anhēuš*) of Asha."

So at Y. 46, 7 : *yayāo syaothnāiš ashem thraōštā ahurā*, "By whose deeds *ashā* has been supported" (nurtured or saved) can only refer to the Holy People.

So at Y. 46, 10, an *ashi* to *ashā* must mean "a reward to the People." So in Y. 46, 15 : *tāiš yāš syaothnāiš ashem khshmai-byā dadvē* (so correcting), "By these your deeds ye support *ashā*"; it is the holy State, *ashā*, which is supported or established.

So at Y. 51, 8 : *uštā yē ashem dādrē*, "*uštā* (beatitude) to him who has established *ashā*," *ashā* is again established or supported, and therefore means the Holy People.

So at Y. 51 13 : *hvāiš syaothnāiš hizvascā ashahyā nāsvāo pathō*, the "paths of *ashā*" suggest those where the holy people walk, quite as directly; but not more directly than it suggests the paths of the Archangel.

So in Y. 51, 15, reading *ashāicā*, "rewards are assigned to the holy people."

(At Y. 53, 3 : *vanhēuš paityāstēm manānhō ashahyā mazdāoscā*, we should think at the first glance that *ashā* is again "supported," and therefore means the holy people; or at least that their priesthood were intended, but see *mazdāoscā*; the word *paityāstēm* (so reading) must mean 'servant.')

Wherever the action expressed is of such a nature as to suggest a sense for *ashā* which associates the idea with reciprocity, there at once the Community is at least suggested, if it is not indeed always intended by the composer as the immediate idea which he wishes to convey.

And even where the rhetorical form of the expression necessitates our classifying the passage as one immediately alluding to

Asha as the Person, a strong and not a weak *secondary* impression is occasionally made upon us in which the Community is the central idea. So in Y. 30, 5 : *ashem (varatā) mainyuš spēñ-istō . . . yaēcā khshnaoshen ahurem haithyāiš syaothnāiš fraoret mazdām*, *ashā* is undoubtedly "the principle of right which the best spirit chooses"; but this is followed by a most unusual occurrence for the succinct Gâthas, that is to say, the *ashem* seems actually explained in the following line; the words are, "And those who content Ahura piously with true deeds."

And in Y. 30, 8 : *yōi ashāi daden zastayō . . .*, "Who deliver the Druj (or Druk), the demon (of the foe), into the two hands of Asha," of course the idea of the Archangel is first intended to be conveyed, but like the Athene of the Greek state he evidently represents the victorious forces of the Holy People.

So in Y. 31, 1, after the idea of the Archangel in the words "the settlements of Asha," the mind reverts at once to the settlements of the Nation.

So at Y. 32, 12, while the figurative representation of the person is rendered certain by the personal *Grēhmā* in the antithesis, we cannot shut out the view which recalls to us a choice of the enemy over the fatherland.

And so at Y. 32, 13, "to be held afar from the sight of Asha" positively suggests the Archangel in beatific vision (see above), but how natural it is for us to say that the penalty also consisted, and to no slight degree, in being held afar from the sight of the Congregation, excommunicated, as it were. So in Y. 34, 2, "the soul united with the Archangel" is also united with his people. In Y. 44, 9, "dwelling with Asha" first suggests the Person, but secondarily the saints. In Y. 44, 13, the "companions of Asha the Archangel" are likewise those of the Holy Church. In Y. 46, 16, "Âramati goes hand in hand with Asha" as the Angel of light and truth, and likewise with his Church." In Y. 47, 2, Ahura was first intended as the father of his Angel Asha, elsewhere also called his son, but he was also the father of the Archangel's people, the father of the Iranian Israel.

So in Y. 48, 1, "If he with *ashā* shall smite the Druj," the first suggested idea is that of thoroughness rather than that of the Angel; the secondary, that of his efficient saints, "When he with the (hosts of the) Church shall conquer the demon of the foe"; yet see elsewhere.

So in Y. 49, 2, "Receiving (or effecting) harm from Asha" first recalls the Person, but secondarily the thought of the Iranian Israel destroying its adversary, immediately arises. So in Y. 51, 11 : *kē vā ashā āfraštā*, "Or who has questioned with *ashā*?" the Person is our first thought, but the consulting priesthood of the Church is our next.¹

¹ I should mention that I use the simplest possible transliteration here, having never taken much interest in that useful matter; in my Dictionary I dispense with it altogether for the Avesta language, using the Zend types.